THE REPORTER

Vol. V February, 1947 No. 6

CPS Future

The draft holiday has been extended until the expiration of the draft law, and along with this, according to the Washington *Post*, administration officials have decided not to press for extension of the present Selective Service law beyond March 31.

It is reported that the large January and February recruiting totals largely influenced the decision not to urge continuation of the draft, even though certain Army officials feel that more men than are obtained by enlistments may be needed later in the year. Congressional informants say that because of the high recruitment totals, draft extension legislation would have no chance, even if the War Department and President Truman asked for it.

It is uncertain what the expiration of the draft law may mean to draftees and assignees.

Conscription Drive

The drive for Universal Military Training has kept alive the renewed effort being made to enact peacetime conscription. The draft holiday which has been declared since September is still operative, but as long as men are not drafted is useless to the War Department.

Early last October the War Department issued a new proposal for peacetime conscription, to be introduced in Congress early in 1947. The plan is called "Universal Military Training" rather than universal military service and President Truman, in addressing the first meeting of the Advisory Commission which he appointed to investigate the plan, asserted, "I want the word 'military' left out."

Of the nine on the Advisory Commission appointed by President Truman to study a system of Universal Training and to submit "recommendations to the President," eight have expressed themselves as favoring some type of conscription.

Educators and clergymen are opposing peacetime conscription, claiming that the education of our young men should be left to our homes, schools and churches. Purnell Benson states in *The American Friend*, "In the amount of effort and resources currently expended by Friends, this contest has probably been matched only by such movements Friends stimulated as the anti-slavery crusade, the women's rights campaign, and the temperance activity."

Drawing from the experience of the extension of the Selective Service Act last May when an extension was shoved through in the last few hours of the expiring Act, anti-conscriptionists are aware that at an unsuspected moment Congress may hastily pass a conscription act.

Guy F. Hershberger, author of "War, Peace and Nonresistance" and professor at Goshen College.

War, Peace and Nonresistance

Mennonites, along with certain other groups of Christians, have historically held to the principle of nonresistance* as being the scriptual and practical way of life for the Christian believer. Since the origin of the Mennonite Church in 1525, the Mennonites have consistently held, through the blood of martyrs and through war and peace, to the principle of nonresistance as they interpret the teachings of Jesus. The exhaustive and authoritative work, *War, Peace and Nonresistance*, by Professor Guy F. Hershberger, Ph.D., gives a balanced treatment, including the Biblical foundations, the historical development, and the present state of nonresistant faith as held by those who hold that war is incompatible with Christian faith.

Reviewed favorably by theologians, sociologists, and historians, both Catholic and Protestant, the 415 page volume first appeared in November, 1944, and was soon sold out. A reprint followed.

(*Continued on page* 3)

Friends Ex-CPS Men Serve the World

Every fourth person of the two hundred workers in the American Friends Service Committee relief and rehabilitation projects abroad came into that foreign service from Civilian Public Service or prison. Actually, though the number fluctuates slowly, there are at present more than that, for sixty-three men from CPS are now working with the people of ten countries, organizing projects and distributing goods. Three ex-CPS men, in addition, have served abroad and are now back in the United States.

In this country fifty-five COs from camp and jail are working with the AFSC staff in all of the various projects across the nation. Thirteen of them are on the Foreign Service Section staff in the office of the Service Committee at 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia. Eighteen others have served in various capacities with the AFSC at home before turning to their individual pursuits.

The American Friends Service Committee represents the Society of Friends in many fields of social action. The projects for relieving human distress in the extreme need abroad following cataclysmic social and spiritual upheaval of war and its aftermath, are perhaps best

(*Continued on page* 2)

CO's In Print

The January, 1947, issue of the *Readers' Digest* and the February, 1947, *Catholic Digest*, carry articles written by Kenneth Tuttle and Samuel Legg, respectively, on the semi-starvation experiment conducted by Civilian Public Service volunteers in 1945. Two Mennonite publications, the *Youths' Christian Companion* and *The Mennonite* are at present printing a series of articles on the same subject and written by Lester Glick. All three men were participants in the experiment.

Pricking Consciences Invade America

The increasing dissatisfaction of scientists with the perversion of their discoveries for the purposes of war has been reaching American papers lately. Among these is the action of Dr. Norbert Weiner, professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who refused to address a group at Harvard University on his new discovery on the use of calculating machines.

Dr. Wiener, one of the world's leading mathematicians, in explaining his refusal to address the Harvard group, wrote, "I do not expect to publish any future works of mine which may do damage in the hands of irresponsible militarists."

Further recognizing his moral responsibility for the use made of his discovery, Wiener continued, "The policy of the government itself during and after the war, say in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has made it clear that to provide scientific information is not necessarily an innocent act, and may involve the gravest consequences. The practical use of guided missiles can only be to kill foreign civilians indiscriminately, and it furnishes no protection whatever to the civilians in this country."

A recent issue of *The Christian Evangel* carried an account of another

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Letter

Some time ago I saw an article in the *Reporter* telling about a movie that was released covering some of the work accomplished by CPS. I am a former CPSer and am wondering if you could give me any information about this film? I have an eight mm projector and would like to get the film to show to the CPS men in my community.

Jerald Sommer

Metamora, Illinois

Editor's Note: Three service agencies, the Mennonite Central Committee, Akron, Pa., the Brethren Service Committee, Elgin, Ill., and the American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Phila. 7, Pa., possess 16 mm reels, both silent and sound, covering the work of Civilian Public Service. An introduction by an ex-CPS man will add value to the film's presentation.

FRIENDS (*from page* 1)

known. However, over many years many other areas of domestic and international concern have been approached by Friends primarily through the Peace and the Social-Industrial Sections of the AFSC.

Basic needs of food, shelter, clothing, and spiritual rejuvenation in war-torn lands have made the great expansion of the Foreign Service work necessary, of course. Although often called a "Quaker" program, it is made possible only through the generosity of many church groups and numberless other men and women of good will who have contributed both in personnel and financial support. The Service Committee's representatives abroad serve without salary; maintenance and insurance is provided, and in some cases dependency allotments are made. Only about a third of them are members of the Society of Friends.

Specific projects abroad include distribution of food and clothing and medical supplies to selected groups, supplementary feeding projects for children, club activities for young people, setting up clinics, camps and rest homes. Services also include salvage work, ambulance transport, aid to expellees and displaced persons, prison visitation, case work and self-help projects. A special Quaker transport unit was trained and used in Europe during 1946. European headquarters were established in Paris, and by the end of last year 36 persons and 30 trucks from the United States were engaged in transporting materials and supplies in France, Poland and Austria. Friends trucks in Italy hauled firewood cut by impoverished villagers. Transport units now are attached to specific missions as needed.

As many as 160 field workers were engaged in China relief during the war, and now a smaller and more permanent body is being established to undertake longer term and less palliative forms of service. Friends Service Unit members in India administer the supervision of large quantities of food and vitamins to starving children, and carry on rehabilitation projects such as re-housing in flood areas, and farmers', fishermen's and weaver's cooperatives.

A Friend's source says that there are many indications that former CPS men working abroad encounter much of the same sense of frustration and ineffectiveness they felt in camps. Foreign relief work is not glamorous. One observer abroad for the AFSC noted this fact and wrote a warning to those who regard relief work as dramatic and exciting. "Relief work in Poland is changing flats, getting stuck in the mud, moving boxes in warehouses, writing thousands of names on cards and doing interminable paper work; it is chasing rats, and opening tins, and cutting margarine; it is waiting for motor parts that never come—plenty of just waiting. What are humdrum jobs at home are not glamorous because the nail in your tire was made in Poland or the name you are writing several hundred times is that of a Polish village."

Among the countries in which ex-CPS men are now serving under the Friends are: China, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, India, Italy and Poland. 24 ex-CPS men and one former prisoner are serving in the Quaker Transport Unit, while 53 former CPS or prison men are now serving with the AFSC in this country. Many others not listed have served part time.

Discharges

The following men have been discharged: Akron, Pa., 52DS: Roger L. Augsburger; Powellsville, Md., 52: Rudolph Detwiler, Earl F. Ogburn, Lloyd H. Dyck.

Three assignees reported to camp during February.

French Pacifists

The pacifist movement in France is now recovering, although slowly, according to the *Peace News*, owing to the severity of French laws and the peoples' intoxication in political parties enthralled by the press.

At the beginning of the war, their pacifist papers "Patrie Humaine" and "Barrage," ceased to appear, and a Mr. Lecoin, author of a pamphlet demanding "Peace Now," was interned in a government concentration camp in Algeria.

The French writer, Giono, a known pacifist, was asked to write up a pacifist leaflet for distribution in Germany by air, but he refused to do this, except under the promise that the leaflet would be distributed also in France and England. He also was imprisoned.

As to present activity, the statement is made that "the purge" is finally at an end, that military hate is dying down a little, and that it is again possible to affirm one's convictions, although the new laws have put a curb on the publication of material. The printing of one internal bulletin is permitted for distribution to private groups, but not to news agents or the public.

The Quakers met for worship and for their annual assemblies throughout the war, and as their pacifism was basically religious and their group very small in number, they were not interferred with.

Glendora Strikers

The trial for the fifty-eight Glendora strikers under indictment in the Federal District Court of Los Angeles for violating the Selective Training and Service Act by refusing to obey orders, has been postponed again, this time until March 11.

The indictment is the result of the refusal of the Glendora men to continue their Civilian Public Service work under "slave labor and arbitrary military authority." Following the last of the arrest of fifty-eight strikers in August, all the men were immediately released with the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union which provided $58,000 bail. All the men pled not guilty to the charges against them and continued their efforts to collect pay for work, perform work of greater importance and accomplish their other strike aims.

PRICKING (*from page* 1)

instance where moral reckoning has been bearing on the conscience of a top-ranking atomic bomb scientist.

"Not long ago, Dr. Goff, pastor of the Chicago Temple, was invited to deliver a series of lectures at Purdue University. After the first lecture a member of the university faculty invited Dr. Goff to call at his office, which he did. The professor motioned him to a chair, closed the door, and took his accustomed place behind his desk. Then with grave expression he said:

"I was one of the half-dozen or so top-ranking scientists who developed the atomic bomb. We worked at it for two years and so secretive was the whole procedure that even my wife did not know what I was doing. Next morning after the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, I scanned the account in the morning paper, then handed it across the breakfast table to my wife, saying, 'There, that's what I've been doing the past two years.'

"'She read the story; and then looked at me and her face went ashen; and from that day to this she has not been able to sleep a whole night through . . . and neither have I.'

"Then throwing his hands outward and upward in pleading and desperation, he exclaimed, 'My God, what have we let loose upon the world?'"

Following the same vein, but in a different field, Jennings Perry, for years editor of the Nashville *Tennessean*, and author of "Democracy Begins at Home," brought his moral quickening to account by resigning his editorial position when his paper campaigned against Henry Wallace for opposing the Byrnes-Vandenberg-Connally foreign policy. In his resignation, Perry said, "I am a veteran of one war and my son is a veteran of the other. I do not relish the manner in which we are taking our world into the atomic war and I do not choose to be a *particeps criminis* in that sorry business."

A Job Bulletin for men discharged from prisons and CPS camps is issued by the NSBRO to supply information for prospective like-minded employees and employers. Notification by postal card will place you on the mailing list.

Citizenship for Alien CO's

A recent decision by Judge Alan Goldsborough in a Washington, D. C. court in refusing to grant Anthony Haritos, Jehovah's Witness, citizenship because of his refusal to bear arms in defense of his country and the recurring appearances in newspapers that certain individuals who claim conscientious objection to war have received, or have been denied citizenship, has given cause for an examination of the April 22, 1946, Supreme Court decision in which James Girouard, Seventh Day Adventist, was given the right to become a citizen even though he refuses to take up arms in defense of this country.

The court decision, delivered by Justice Douglass, says, "The oath* required of aliens does not in terms require that they promise to bear arms. Nor has Congress expressly made any such finding a prerequisite to citizenship. To hold that it is required is to read it into the Act of implication. But we could not assume that Congress intended to make such an abrupt and radical departure from our traditions unless it spoke in unequivocal terms."

The decision admits that a conscientious objector's religious scruples "would not disqualify him from becoming a member of Congress or holding other public offices." Even though Article VI, Clause 3 of the Constitution provides that such officials, both of the United States and the several States, "shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution," it adds that "no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States." Further, "There is not the slightest suggestion that Congress set a stricter standard for aliens seeking admission to citizenship than it did for officials who make and enforce the laws of the nation and administer its affairs. It is hard to believe that one need forsake his religious scruples to become a citizen but not to sit in the high councils of state."

Because Congress relaxed residence requirements, eliminated educational tests, and required no fees for aliens who served honorably in the armed forces during World War II, the decision claims that it would be unfair to deny Girouard the privilege to become a citizen simply because he did not have the opportunity to serve in the Army. Girouard was willing to serve in a non-combatant capacity but refused to bear arms.

In its conclusion, the decision** reads, "The struggle for religious liberty has through the centuries been an effort to accommodate the demands of the State to the conscience of the individual. The victory for freedom of thought recorded in our Bill of Rights recognizes that in the domain of conscience there is a moral power higher than the State. Throughout the ages men have suffered death rather than subordinate their allegiance to God to the authority of the State . . . Freedom of thought, which includes freedom of religious belief is basic in a society of free men . . . The test oath* is abhorrent to our tradition. Over the years Congress has meticulously respected that tradition and even in time of war has sought to accommodate the military requirements to the religious scruples of the individual. We do not believe that Congress intended to reverse that policy when it came to draft the naturalization oath*. Such an abrupt and radical departure from our tradition should not be implied."

* "I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So Help Me God."

** A copy of this opinion can be obtained for $2.25 by writing to The Bureau of National Affairs, publishers of "U. S. Law Week", 24th and N Sts., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

Amnesty Board Querries CO's, Others

On the day following a prisoner's garb parade in front of the Whitehouse and simultaneous amnesty demonstrations in New York, Chicago, Boston, Toledo, Philadelphia, St. Paul and Los Angeles, President Truman appointed three men on an amnesty board to make recommendations regarding the release and pardon of draft violators and conscientious objectors to war.

The appointment of the Board followed urgent appeals to President Truman by hundreds of prominent organizations, clergymen, associations, church bodies, labor unions, newspapers, veterans organizations and well-known national figures. Disappointed because of the inevitable delay caused by the creation of a board, and desiring an immediate amnesty proclamation, the Committee for Amnesty, however, accepted the appointment as indicative of a change in official governmental policy.

The Board, consisting of Former Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts of the Supreme Court, James F. O'Neal, chief of police of Manchester, N. H., former vice-chairman of the American Legion's Americanization Committee, and Willis Smith, Raleigh, N. C., former president of the American Bar Association, is authorized to make recommendations to Attorney General Tom Clark. He, in turn, is to pass the report of the board and its recommendations to the President.

Beginning, Tuesday, February 18, the President's Board held semi-private sessions, giving all interested groups the privilege of stating their viewpoints and particular pleas. Among the groups appearing before the Board were representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, Society for the Advancement of Colored People, Committee for Amnesty, Fellowship of Reconcilation, War Resisters League, Jehovah's Witnesses, NSBRO and others. It appeared that the Board willingly and fairly gave time to any type or source of request. The nature of the meeting resembled a round-table discussion, the three-man Board sincerely making efforts to gain all possible information regarding the advisability of declaring a general amnesty or first placing the draft violators in certain categories and then dealing with each specific category and perhaps each man within a stated category.

It was in December 15, 1945, that delegates at a central committee to represent all groups seeking amnesty for war objectors and Selective Service violators organized the Committee for Amnesty. This Committee, excepting a few changes, has crusaded for fourteen months for release of all war objectors, and is in the thick of the present effort which has resulted in the appointment of the Amnesty Board by President Truman.

Frozen Fund

Representative Cole, New York, on February 13, introduced House Bill No. 1938, asking for the authorization to appropriate the amounts received by the Selective Service System from services of conscientious objectors for expenditure by the International Children's Fund of the United Nations.

The fund to which Cole refers is known as the Frozen Fund, and amounts to approximately $1,300,000. It is being held by the Comptroller General, and is an accumulation of wages of conscientious objectors who were assigned to work on farms but were not permitted to receive their wages.

G.I.'s Aid CO's

There are approximately 110-ex-servicemen enrolled this year at the Yale Divinity School, all beneficiaries of the G.I. Bill of Rights, receiving monthly stipends from the United States government. Also included in the school's enrollment are ten conscientious objectors. Because the COs receive no aid from the government, the ex-servicemen have organized and now contribute fifty dollars a month to each conscientious objector.

WAR, PEACE (*from page* 1)

Supplemented with footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*** is an excellent sourcebook for peace material, particularly as it refers to the Scriptures, and indicates that the author was sincere in his endeavor to seek a truly reasonable and Scriptual solution to the problem of the Christian's participation in war.

The book begins with a chapter on War in Human History, and is followed by chapters on Peace and War in the O.T., Nonresistance in the N.T., Peace, War, and the State in the History of the Church, The Mennonites in Europe, The Mennonites in America, Mennonites in the World War, Postwar Migrations and Relief, Mennonites and the Second World War, Nonresistance and the State, Biblical Nonresistance and Modern Pacifism, Nonresistance and Industrial Conflict, The Service of Nonresistance to Society, Keeping the Faith, and an Appendix.

Reviewers recommend Hershberger's book:

(OVER)

WAR, PEACE (*from page 3*)

"The work is based upon primary sources; it is carefully documented; it reflects an immense amount of patient toil by a competent scholar."—O. T. Binkley, in *Review and Expositor;* "A veritable compendium of history, exegesis, doctrine, and practical information."—Paul Macy, in *Christendom;* "It is a challenge against the compliant assumption that wars are always just. All lovers of peace are earnestly recommended to study this authoritative work."—*Catholic Historical Review;* "Professor Hershberger's [book] stands out for solidity, consistency, and honesty."—Robert H. Nichols, in *Church History;* "Perhaps our Mennonite brethren are closer to the solution of the problem of a better world than other modern groups who are far more vocal and numerous."—Samuel M. Zwemer, in *The Presbyterian;* ". . . a useful help toward understanding the Biblical people who have afforded forty per cent of all American conscientious objectors in World War II."—Franklin H. Littell, in *Review of Religion;* ". . . a contribution to American Church History . . . an excellent presentation of the doctrine of nonresistance."—Henry S. Gehman, in *Theology Today;* ". . . he has been successful in conveying something of the intriguing charm that must characterize the simplicity of Mennonite life."—John Murray, in *Westminster Theological Journal;* ". . . monumental . . . comprehensive . . . scholarly . . . frank . . . evangelical . . . authoritative . . . epoch-making . . . systematic source book."—Donovan E. Smucker, in *The Mennonite.*

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* Nonresistance is the Mennonite definition for pacifism based squarely on the New Testament.

** Copies can be obtained at the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Penna. Price $2.50.

From the Papers

From a letter to the editor of the Oklahoma City, Okla. Times (circ. 91,900):

In this matter of conscientious objectors, it's quite true that some pretend to be COs just to keep out of the service. But there also were many who sincerely believed in their hearts that they were doing right. If you doubt this, read the January issue of the *Reader's Digest* telling of COs who volnuteered to be human guinea pigs for Uncle Sam.

An editorial appearing in the Des Moines, Ia. Tribune (circ. 143,043):

Let the conscientious objectors to military service out of prison, say 69 percent of the voters sampled by the Gallup poll. Once again is refuted the stubborn conception of some public officials that they must be tougher on the COs than their own feelings call for, because of a supposed public pressure for it.

Ferocity against the objectors is not popular, except with a very small minority. The ferocious minority makes noise enough to pass as a much larger group, but there is evidence enough to deflate its pretensions.

Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren, and religious pacifists in other faiths have played too long, too honorable, and too prominent a role in American history for them to be hated and scorned, even to the degree they were in World War I. Most of us understand the scruples which confined some of them to noncombat service in the armed forces, which sent some to Civilian Public Service camps, and sent others (the "absolutists") to prison.

And while we do not wish to make it too easy for them, lest we get a lot of "phonies" along with real objectors, we have no hard feelings, either. It's time for executive clemency in the cases of proven conscientious objection.

Excerpt from Tomorrow (New York City) carrying an article on "The Conscientious Objectors" by William Fifield:

The majority of CPS men on detached service, about seventeen hundred, worked as attendants in the nation's public insane asylums. Great progress was made in breaking down the tradition of rule by the club that prevailed in many of the institutions the COs entered. At Philadelphia State Hospital, where I spent fourteen months, COs entered the violent ward where three hundred patients, some of them with killings on their records, were confined. It was the first time attendants had ever gone into that ward without clubs. From time to time, it is true, COs working in the ward were injured, but that had happened to armed attendants in the past. Proof that the technique worked came the night when the entire hospital was suddenly blacked-out during an air-raid alert. The unarmed CO, left in the dark with three hundred homicidal and destructive patients, found himself shoved into a corner and guarded by a group of the burliest men. "Don't worry, buddy," they said, "we'll take care of you."

From "The American Friend":

When Rachel M. Jacques of Susanville, California, received her dead son's second Purple Heart decoration, she sat down and wrote President Truman a letter, urging amnesty for imprisoned conscientious objectors.

"I just received the second Purple Heart certificate and presidential accolade, with corrected date of death of my son, First Lieutenant Chester D. Jacques, who, as your noble words, say 'died that freedom might live and grow and increase its blessing,' and you add 'freedom lives.'

"I ask, now that he cannot, do you really mean and believe these words when you are still keeping peace-loving men in prison fifteen months after V-J Day, when other countries have granted amnesty to their political prisoners and other presidents in the past have granted amnesty to prisoners such as CO's? Why cannot you do the same and show that you really mean those words about freedom and show a worthy memorial to keep faith with those who gave their lives that freedom might live?"

Following a consistent pattern, most editorials appearing in the nation's papers favor the release of war objectors. On Christmas day, the Knoxville, Tenn., Journal (circ. 98,865) carried an open-minded editorial which serves as an unguent to salve the minds of vindicative individuals. In this dizzy world of revenge and hate, it is first of all the Christians, and then those who come near to Jesus' teachings, who hold in their hands the responsibility for the abolishment of the retributive thoughts so prevalent during war periods. The Journal editor, even though not a believer in individual pacifism, expresses a philosophy which shows the growing admiration held by the American people for conscientious objectors to war.

Now that the second postwar Christmas is here, would it not be fitting to free American conscientious objectors from prison?

The Allied government went to war against war. In Nuremberg they have tried German Nazis for the crime of resorting to aggressive war as an instrument of national policy. The speeches made in the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have repeated, over and over, charges and counter charges that this or that nation or regime is a "threat to the peace." In all the world there is no statesman who would dare praise war. All agree, or pretend to agree, that war is the world's greatest evil.

Then why do we keep locked up in jail or deprived of civil liberties some 6,000 Americans who have proved, more decisively than any others, that they agree with this "conscience of mankind?"

These men even did not believe in going to war against war, or that peace can be promoted by, what to their minds, is organized murder. They refused to serve in the American as others refused to serve in the British and French forces. I did not agree with them. I never have believed that individual pacifism will stop war.

Yet, I am glad they exist. I did not find it unjust to constrain them during war. For if one believes in anything as passionately as they, it is right and fitting that they should suffer for their beliefs as did the brave young men, who idealistically offered their lives on the field of battle, suffered for theirs. It is well they exist. For no one can deny that if statesmen and leaders everywhere believed as they do, all war would end—international war, industrial war, civil war.

The conscientious objector is a peculiar phenomenon of free societies. Their attitude toward him, however reluctant, is one of concession to something in their own consciences. In time of conflict conscientious objectors are profoundly embarrassing and in war's routine are pushed aside, shut up, in one way or another. But they are not shot as traitors, nor treated as totalitarian states treat objectors to anything, for free social orders are free precisely because they do not totally claim the bodies, minds and souls of their people. Even in a life and death struggle to which an entire nation is committed free men recognize that this or that one of them who says, "No, I will have no part in this thing," may, conceivably prove right on longer view; and though he become temporarily outcast, something still whispers: his time may yet come.

Just why, however, in time of peace, and praise of peace, those who believe in peace at any price should still be treated as prisoners of war, is confounding. I should think it would be a good idea to pull them out of their prisons, everywhere, and send them to make the peace. For they actually believe that all the swords should be beaten into ploughshares. They would not talk of "limitations" of armament, but of universal total disarmament.

This is, of course, fantastic and it will not be done because states, who must make and maintain peace are, by their origin and nature, instruments of force. Peace, too, rests on force and peace and war are but two faces of the same humanity and dilemma.

But humanity, being what it is, cannot afford to exclude from itself those who represent—whether humanity acknowledges it or not—that spirit which it secretly worships and openly affronts.

To understand the paradoxical attitude toward peace would perhaps lead us into a research on the question of why Western man, the greatest beast of prey ever let loose on this globe, worships Jesus of Nazareth. The great split in the Western mind is that while it has produced the warrior as a type and ideal in social and economic life as well as in international relations; while it can only imagine supplanting war between states by war between classes, it still celebrates in its loftiest moments Him Who prophesied that the meek would inherit the earth.

Perhaps what grace we possess is in that never triumphant inner voice of conscience, that never realized and barely striven-for ideal that in the most warring moments whispers restraint. Conscientious objectors become such restraining voices in the most hate infested times. They carry on for the vast majority their temporarily abandoned tender-mindedness. In a profound sense they represent us all—as the warriors fighting for righteousness represent them, too, though they would deny it.

But it is preposterous and hypocritical that they should continue in prison during peace. They never wanted to help win—or lose—a war. They endured the obloquy of their fellows to win peace. Isn't that what we are all, supposed to be up to?

And isn't it Christmas?

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A Prayer

God of all nations,
We pray for all the peoples of thy earth,
For those who are consumed in mutual hatred and bitterness,
For those who make bloody war upon their neighbors,
For those who tyrannously oppress,
For those who groan under cruelty and subjection.
We pray thee for all those who bear rule and responsibility,
For child races and dying races,
For outcast tribes, the backward and downtrodden,
For the ignorant, wretched and the enslaved.
We beseech thee, teach mankind to live together in peace,
No man exploiting the weak, no man hating the strong,
Each race working out its own destiny,
Unfettered, self-respecting, fearless.
Teach us to be worthy of freedom,
Free from social wrong, free from individual oppression and contempt.

—THE AMERICAN FRIEND